

Social Dominance Orientation's Effects
on Attitudes Towards Crime, Prisoners and Prison Reform

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Abstract

While social dominance orientation (SDO) has previously been researched by psychologists, studies delving further into how it may predict attitudes towards crime, prisoners and prison reform have not previously been conducted. The aim of this study was to fill this gap in the literature, and explore whether social dominance has any predictive power over individuals' beliefs about causes of crime, attitudes towards prisoners, and attitudes about prison reform. Participants ($n = 1,025$) self-selected to participate in this study through Amazon's Mechanical Turk. Hierarchical multiple regression revealed that SDO was a significant predictor for attitudes about individual causes of crime, attitudes towards prisoners, and prison reform attitudes. Individuals who were more social dominance oriented were more likely to attribute crime to individual/hereditary factors, and held more negative views towards prisoners and less progressive attitudes about prison reform. Additional mediation models revealed that racist ideology partially mediates the relationships between SDO and attitudes towards prisoners, and SDO and prison reform attitudes. This discussion section includes limitations of the study, suggestions for future research and implications for society.

Keywords: Social Dominance Orientation, Attitudes Towards Crime, Attitudes Towards Prisoners, Prison Reform, Racism.

“[I]t's my hypothesis that the individual is not a pre-given entity which is seized on by the exercise of power. The individual, with his identity and characteristics, is the product of a relation of power exercised over bodies, multiplicities, movements, desires, forces.”

— Michel Foucault

Since its inception, the prison industrial complex has served as a place where individuals are sent for committing crimes and where power from an authority figure is exercised over them. Disagreement about how punitive prisons can and should be have sparked debates across our country, both in every day discourse and in formal government settings. Recently, the Roberts Court ruled in *Brown v. Plata* (2011) that overcrowded conditions in California prisons violated the “cruel and unusual” clause in the Eighth Amendment. As such, the release of a striking 137.5% of the total prison population (PPIC, 2015) would have to take place in order to no longer violate the Prison Litigation Reform Act (“Know Your Rights,” n.d.). The ruling was a victory for those who progressively advocate for our nation’s prisoners. Research has indicated that overcrowded conditions contribute further to negative outcomes for inmates, including violence, sexual assault, severe paranoia, psychosis, and clinical depression (Haney, 2006). All of these consequences further exacerbate prisoners’ abilities to adapt to life outside of prison once they are paroled.

However, it is also important to acknowledge that our overall prison system is still less than perfect. President Obama has called for a more humane and commonsensical criminal justice system, having commuted 95 former inmates’ sentences in July of 2015 which were the result of the Drug War (The U.S. Department of Justice, n.d.). A report from the Bureau of Justice Statistics (2015) also indicates that the rate at which inmates have died in prison has increased within the last 15 years. Additionally, the current prison population is disproportionately comprised of minority groups. While African Americans and Latinos are overrepresented in the prison system, Caucasian Americans are underrepresented (Haney, 2006).

In the last few years, the amount of women in prison has also increased a total of 2% from 2013 to 2014, and women are now the fastest growing prison population in the country (Carson, 2015).

While strides to become a less punitive society have been made, our current prison system still remains subject to considerable change. Despite our prison population being the largest in the world (Haney, 2006), there has still been limited academic research on how the general public perceives those who are currently or have been formerly incarcerated. In a similar vein, psychological research has not delved deeper into how one individual personality variable, social dominance orientation, may influence people's views towards crime, prisoners, and prison reform. Conducting research exploring these relationships is critical to gaining a better understanding of how the general public's overall attitudes towards criminality are shaped.

Social Dominance Orientation

Actively seeking roles in hierarchy-enhancing institutions may relate to how individuals feel about the criminal justice system. Social dominance orientation (SDO), as defined by researchers Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, and Malle (1994), is described as "a general attitudinal orientation toward intergroup relations, reflecting whether one generally prefers such relations to be equal, versus hierarchical" (p. 742). Individuals who are more social dominance oriented may prefer occupations in society, like those in law enforcement, which serve to maintain the existing social hierarchy and inequitable conditions. On the other hand, those who are less social dominance oriented may prefer roles that reduce inequitable conditions in society.

Pratto et al. (1994) found that on average, men are more social dominance oriented as a group than women; SDO also positively correlates with other ideologies that endorse inequality among groups such as patriotism, nationalism and chauvinism. Additionally, SDO negatively

correlates with altruism, inclusivity, tolerance, and egalitarianism, and individuals who are more social dominance oriented are more likely to support institutions that further intergroup conflicts, such as war.

It is possible that individuals' beliefs about criminality differ as a function of where individuals fall on the social dominance orientation spectrum. It may be that individuals who are more social dominance oriented attribute offenders' successes or failures to their own characteristics rather than societal factors; this may be done as a way to further alienate them and place them lower on the social hierarchy. On the other hand, it is possible that individuals who are less social dominance oriented believe crime is more so caused by situational or environmental factors like extreme poverty or abusive familial turmoil. The empirical literature has not explored attitudes towards crime as they relate to SDO. However, it is possible that individuals' views of criminality vary as a function of their underlying tendencies to enhance their own positions in society while suppressing the positions of offenders.

Attitudes Towards Crime

Before the 20th century, general attitudes towards crime entailed that those who committed crime could be treated and reformed. However during the 1970s, a new ideology of crime posited that those who commit crime are inherently different than individuals who do not engage in criminal behavior, and negatively so (Haney, 1982).

This belief, described as psychological individualism, posited that behavior is created by individuals independent of the social context. Those who could not get ahead in oppressive social conditions were labeled as inept and useless, needing to be quarantined to keep them and their "disease" away from the rest of the general public. This ideology eventually led to an individualistic and dispositional approach to ideas of crime causation as social hierarchies

simultaneously developed. Ultimately, it permeated the way in which crime was dealt with during the realization of the Drug War in the 20th century (Haney, 1982). Eventually, the antidote for individuals who were seen as “the causal locus of [criminal] behavior” (p. 192) would be prison.

Ortet-Fabregat and Perez (1992) conducted a study which established two main ways individuals may attribute causes of crime: individual/hereditary or social/environmental causes. Individual/hereditary causes of crime include faulty genes or deviant ethics thought to make individuals “evil.” On the other hand, social/environmental causes of crime include low socio-economic status and poverty, poor family life, and poor education funding and quality; when many of these negative factors are combined, they increase the risk that a person will engage in criminal behavior.

In an earlier study, Carroll, Perkowitz, Lurigio, and Weaver (1987) aimed to explore how attitudes towards causes of crime may influence sentencing for criminals. They found that: (1) Individuals who were more conservative and more dogmatic typically believed perpetrators of crime are inherently immoral and need more punitive sentences. On the other hand, (2) individuals who were more liberal generally believed crime is largely caused by societal and economic factors and believed perpetrators need less punitive sentences. These findings resonate with Ortet-Fabregat and Perez’s (1992) later work; individuals who believed in dispositional causes of crime held more punitive attitudes towards perpetrators of crime, while those who believed in situational causes of crime held less punitive attitudes.

Another study, conducted by Chen and Einat (2015) in Israel, followed students in either the law enforcement track or correctional officer track throughout their college careers. The authors assessed students’ attitudes towards punishment, and tested whether either group would

become more punitive in its opinions on viable punishment towards offenders, and what personal characteristics contributed to such beliefs. Similar to Ortet-Fabregat and Perez (1992), Chen and Einat (2015) found that those in the law enforcement track held more punitive attitudes than did correctional officers, on average. Additionally, those on track to become correctional officers did become less punitive in their attitudes towards the end of their program, whereas those in the law enforcement track did not.

Overall, the literature on attitudes towards crime suggests that individuals who hold a dispositional view of crime are generally more punitive and may seek occupations in law enforcement, whereas those who hold a situational view of crime may seek occupations as correctional officers, and may generally be less punitive.

Attitudes Towards Prisoners

While attitudes towards crime describe the ways in which individuals reason about what causes criminal behavior, attitudes towards prisoners instead refer to how prisoners are viewed by the general public. Individuals may hold unfavorable opinions about those who have been incarcerated yet may also acknowledge that crime can occur due to societal influence. Because attitudes towards crime and attitudes towards prisoners are two separate constructs, it is also possible that SDO also influences how individuals reason about prisoners.

Melvin, Gramling, and Gardner (1985) conducted a study that created and validated an Attitudes Toward Prisoners (ATP) scale. Lower scores on the scale indicate negative attitudes towards prisoners, while higher scores indicate positive views towards prisoners. Upon administering the scale, Melvin et al. (1985) found that those in groups dedicated to advocating for prisoners' rights, as well as prisoners themselves, held significantly higher attitudes towards prisoners than did members of the community and college students; additionally, those who

worked in law enforcement once again held the most negative attitudes towards prisoners as a group.

Over time academics have expanded on the research related to attitudes towards prisoners. Researchers Kjelsberg, Skoglund, and Rustad (2007) conducted a study in a Norway prison which aimed to assess attitudes towards prisoners from individuals working in prisons and prison inmates themselves. Using a translated version of Melvin et al.'s (1985) Attitudes Towards Prisoners scale, they found significant group differences between these two groups. As expected, prisoners held more positive attitudes towards prisoners compared to prison officers, who generally held negative attitudes towards prisoners. Kjelsberg et al.'s (2007) study also further supports the idea that negative attitudes towards prisoners may, at least in part, be related to the nature of individuals' every day occupations, such as those of law enforcement.

Other research has looked at whether extraneous negative factors, like terminal illness in prisoners, do anything to change the public's attitudes towards them. Boothby and Overduin (2007) conducted a study to assess university students' attitudes towards the release of inmates who were terminally ill. Their results indicated that as a whole, participants held more negative attitudes towards prisoners and did not support the release of prisoners who were terminally ill. Many believed that the prisoners should not be shown compassion, and if a terminally ill prisoner was to be released, it would be a moral duty to inform the community to which the former inmate would be returning. The belief that compassionate releases of terminally ill inmates would only encourage them to commit more crime was also common. On the other hand, individuals with more positive views towards prisoners generally held beliefs that terminally ill prisoners should obtain compassionate release, should be shown empathy and

kindness, and should be given access to the same medication and treatments that individuals outside of prison receive.

The general public's attitudes towards prisoners may also have a significant impact on those who are incarcerated. Moore, Stuewig and Tangney (2013) found that those who perceived they would be subject to the most discrimination from the general public also had the worst post-incarceration functioning as they entered the real world, generally being the most unemployed as well as the most likely to recidivate back to prison. Similarly, Clow and Leach (2015) discovered that wrongfully convicted individuals were viewed just as negatively as actual offenders. It thus appears that once someone is labelled a criminal, that individual subsequently acquires the negative stigma that accompanies that label, regardless of factual evidence pointing to the contrary. Additionally, the internalization of the stigma that accompanies the label may also be harmful to prisoners' post-release functioning, contributing to their inability to succeed in a society comprised of social hierarchies.

The research exploring individuals' attitudes towards prisoners has elucidated the ways in which these attitudes may vary as a function of individuals' occupational roles, like those of law enforcement. The research has also demonstrated that individuals' negative views of prisoners may generally remain constant regardless of other factors, like terminal illness or having been convicted erroneously. This is of particular importance because it may be that SDO does in fact play a role in influencing people in the general public's attitudes towards prisoners. Perhaps individuals who seek out roles which enhance societal hierarchies, like those of law enforcement, do so because they know they will further enhance the very hierarchies they receive their power from.

Attitudes Towards Prison Reform

Similarly, it is important to explore what may affect individuals' attitudes towards prison reform. Prison reform attitudes may vary on a continuum. One end of the continuum constitutes progressive prison reform, which posits that prison conditions should change to become more rehabilitative for prisoners; this could subsequently make prison a better place in which to live, and may allow prisoners to more readily adapt to the outside world upon their parole. Other individuals may hold prison reform attitudes that are more conservative in nature. These individuals may believe prison reform should not occur, and may believe current prison conditions and sentences are adequate for prisoners, even though they are overly punitive. Many variables may have a hand in influencing prison reform attitudes, and it is possible that SDO has a considerable role in shaping them.

Work by Silvia (2003) has found that individuals who hold more positive prison reform attitudes generally believe in the efficacy of rehabilitative alternatives to prison, rather than harsh and long prison sentences. When progressive individuals are told they have to give a prison sentence, their sentences are also significantly shorter than those of conservative individuals with conservative prison reform beliefs. On the other hand, individuals who hold overall authoritarian beliefs are also more likely to hold conservative prison reform attitudes.

Silvia, Graham, and Hawley (2005) expanded on this research by investigating how similarity to prisoners either affects individuals' attraction towards or rejection of them, and how this subsequently affects prison reform attitudes. They conducted this research using the similarity-attraction effect—the idea that similarity between two individuals increases how much they feel like each other and subsequently like each other. However, the similarity-attraction effect also states that individuals who perceive themselves as similar to a disliked member or group in society will actually reject that individual or group. Their results indicated that

Democrats, on average, assumed a “similarity-attraction effect.” In other words, thinking of ways they were similar to prisoners made them less punitive and more progressive in their prison reform attitudes. On the other hand, those who identified as Republican generally assumed “a similarity-rejection effect.” Thinking of how they were similar to prisoners made those who identified as Republican reject prisoners more; this was also reflected in their more punitive and less progressive attitudes towards prison reform.

Together, these studies suggest that prison reform attitudes can be influenced by additional factors, such as authoritarianism and political ideology. While prison reform attitudes (PRA) have been explored in terms of these variables, PRA has previously not been explored as a function of SDO. We thus found it imperative to include PRA in our analysis of how SDO may influence attitudes pertaining to the criminal justice system.

The Present Study

The present study aims to contribute to the current literature by exploring how the individual difference variable, SDO, may predict the general public’s feelings about crime, prisoners, and prison reform. Taken together, the prior literature suggests that individuals who are more social dominance oriented may be more inclined to believe in dispositional approaches towards crime, negative attitudes towards prisoners and conservative attitudes towards prison reform. Similarly, individuals with lower social dominance orientation may be more inclined to attribute crime situationally, may hold more positive views towards prisoners, and may hold more progressive attitudes towards prison reform. As such, the hypotheses for this study are as follows:

1. Individuals who are more social dominance oriented (score higher on the SDO scale) will hold more individual/hereditary attributions of crime, while individuals who are less social

dominance oriented (score lower on the SDO scale) will hold more situational attributions of crime.

2. Individuals who are more social dominance oriented will display more negative attitudes towards prisoners, whereas those who are less social dominance oriented will hold more positive attitudes towards prisoners.
3. Individuals who are more social dominance oriented are more likely to oppose prison reforms. These individuals are more likely to support overall punitive prison conditions and longer prison sentences. On the other hand, individuals who are less social dominance oriented will favor progressive views towards prison reform. These individuals are more likely to believe prison should serve to rehabilitate rather than punish prisoners.

Additionally, we were interested in what may mediate the relationships between SDO, ATP, and PRA.

Methods

Procedure

Participants were given the opportunity to complete a survey on social groups and the criminal justice system titled “Prisoners and Crime.” Surveys were completed on Amazon’s Mechanical Turk, or MTurk, a marketplace from Amazon.com. It is comprised of “Human Intelligence Tasks,” listed as jobs that artificial intelligence cannot yet do. Posters of these jobs, businesses, individuals, or researchers are called Requesters, and those who complete them for a monetary reward are called Workers (Paolacci, Chandler, & Ipeirotis, 2010).

Researchers have assessed the validity and reliability of research conducted using the Amazon Mechanical Turk market place. Concerns have been raised over low monetary compensation for Workers, as well as the possibility that the online setting may contribute to

participant acquiescence and affect construct validity. It may also be that monetary rewards for the length of and completion of tasks may affect participation (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011). On the other hand, researchers have also found that the site is a reliable tool for conducting research (Paolacci et al., 2010), and allows for a participant pool that is more representative of the general public than college samples, is inexpensive, and fast (Buhrmester et al., 2011). Despite these concerns, MTurk continues to be used as a way to collect quick and easy data for social science research, and was the mode of data collection in the present study.

The survey sought to get a clear picture of how several variables interact with each other to create an overall picture of attitudes towards prisoners and criminality in this country. Various measures constituted the survey, such as Social Dominance Orientation (Pratto et al., 1994), Attitudes Towards Crime (Ortet-Fabregat & Perez, 1992), Attitudes Towards Prisoners (Melvin et al., 1985) and Prison Reform Attitudes (Silvia, 2003). Other measures included Modern Racism (McConahay, 1986) and Empathy (Davis, 1980). The survey also included questions to measure gender, age, and political ideology. On average, the survey took about twenty minutes for participants to complete. When they completed the survey, participants were thanked for their participation and rewarded monetary compensation.

Participants

Our initial sample size consisted of 1,085 participants, but after initial analyses of the data, 60 participants were dropped from the study due to one or more of the following: completing the survey twice, failing the attention check, providing overly consistent and suspicious demographic data, and/or providing consistently neutral answers for a majority of the survey. Our final sample size was 1,025 participants (41.82% male, 58.18% female). Ages ranged from 18 to 79, with a mean of 36.08 and a standard deviation of 13.07. The majority of

the sample (36.7%) held a Bachelor's Degree as their highest level of education, followed by some college (29%). Participants had 0.59 children, on average, ranging between zero and 2.83. Current employment status ranged from employed part-time (14.65%), employed full-time (39.92%), unemployed (9.14%), unable to work (2.26%), retired (4.33%), and student (10.42%). A majority of the sample was White (78.2%), with 5.2% Asian/Asian-American, 4.8% Hispanic/Latino, 3.3% Mixed race/biracial, 0.7% African American/Black and Native American, 0.6% Arab-American/Middle Eastern and 0.1% Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander. Finally, participants identified as Republican (16.42%), Democrat (35.84%), Independent (25.53%), Libertarian (5.81%), unidentified (13.71%), or other (2.7%); the majority of the sample mostly identified as being either ideologically moderate (27.12%), liberal (21.3%) or somewhat liberal (15.7%).

Measures

Social dominance orientation (SDO). SDO was measured using Sidanius and Pratto's (1999) scale. The scale itself measures whether individuals adhere to societal roles related to hierarchy enhancement or hierarchy attenuation. Participants were asked to read statements about social groups and indicate whether they felt positively or negatively towards the idea expressed in the statements. Answers were assessed on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 'very negative' to 'very positive.' The scale had 15 items. Sidanius and Pratto (1994) reported good internal consistency, $\alpha = 0.83$; for our sample, we report excellent internal consistency, $\alpha = 0.95$.

Attitudes towards crime (ATC). We measured attitudes towards crime by adapting Ortet-Fabregat and Perez's (1992) scale, which consists of two subscales measuring hereditary versus social causes of crime. The scale itself measures whether individuals adhere to a hereditary and individual or social and environmental approach towards crime causation.

Participants were asked to read statements concerning crime and criminals and to indicate their extent of agreement or disagreement with the statements presented. Answers were assessed on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree.' Ortet-Fabregat and Perez's (1992) scale originally contained 18 items, but after items were dropped because one did not make sense in the United States context, and others related to mental illness and substance use (which may be influenced by a combination of individual and social factors), our final item count was 16.

A higher score on the hereditary and individual causes of crime subscale signifies higher beliefs in dispositional causes of crime. A higher score on the social and environmental causes of crime subscale signifies a situational approach towards crime causation. Ortet-Fabregat and Perez's (1992) internal consistency for hereditary and individual causes of crime was good ($\alpha = 0.80$), and acceptable for social and environmental causes of crime ($\alpha = 0.77$). Internal consistency in our sample was similar; our Cronbach's alpha was good for the social causes of crime subscale ($\alpha = 0.86$) and acceptable for the individual causes of crime subscale ($\alpha = 0.72$).

Attitudes towards prisoners (ATP). Participants completed a 36-item scale adapted from Melvin et al. (1985). The scale measures the extent to which individuals feel either positively or negatively about prisoners. Participants were asked to answer a series of statements related to prisoners and to indicate whether they agree or disagree. Responses were assessed on a 5-point Likert scale, with 1 signifying strongly disagree and 5 signifying strongly agree. A higher score on the scale itself indicates overall positive views of prisoners, whereas a lower score indicates overall negative views of prisoners. The scale had 36 total items. Melvin et al. (1985) measured internal consistency by calculating a split-half coefficient, which in their sample was

moderate to high, $r = 0.84$. In our sample, internal consistency was measured by calculating Cronbach's alpha, which was excellent, $\alpha = 0.96$.

Prison reform attitudes (PRA). Participants completed a scale adapted from Silvia (2003) to measure how progressive or conservative their attitudes towards reforming the U.S. prison system were. This section of the survey instructed them to indicate their agreement or disagreement with a series of statements pertaining to prisons and the treatment of prisoners. Responses were assessed on a 7-point Likert scale, where 1 equaled strongly disagree and 7 equaled strongly agree. A higher score on this 12-item scale meant individuals held progressive views towards prison reform, whereas a lower score indicated conservative views towards prison reform. Internal consistency for this scale in Silvia (2003) was good, $\alpha = 0.83$; in the present study, internal consistency was excellent, $\alpha = 0.92$.

Covariates. Five measures were also used as covariates in our analyses. The variables we controlled for were gender, political ideology, empathy, age, and racism. These were used for both statistical and theoretical reasons. Statistically unless otherwise noted, all these measures were correlated to our dependent variables in one way or another. Theoretically, these measures have been identified in the literature as alternate explanations for the attitudes we are exploring, or are closely related to our independent variable of interest (SDO) and may act as confounds (Chen & Einat, 2015; Kjelsberg et al., 2007; Mears, Mancini, Beaver, & Gertz, 2013; Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius et al., 2013; Silvia, 2003; Silvia et al., 2005). Therefore, we included these measures in our hierarchical multiple regression analyses.

Additionally, racism was later included in our analyses as a possible mediator variable. The scale was adapted from McConahay's (1986) Modern Racism Scale, and measured the extent to which individuals are racist. A higher score on the scale indicates higher racist beliefs,

while a lower score indicates lower racist beliefs. Answers were assessed on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from ‘strongly disagree’ to ‘strongly agree.’ Our final scale consisted of seven items. Internal consistency for this scale in McConahay (1986) was good, $\alpha = 0.82$. In our sample, internal consistency was excellent, $\alpha = 0.90$.

Results

Descriptive statistics and correlations

Means and standard deviations for all variables used in the study were calculated. Social dominance orientation significantly correlated with attitudes towards crime, prison, and prison reform; the sizes of these correlations were small-medium. Social dominance orientation was also correlated with empathy, political ideology, and racism. These were mostly medium-large correlations. Some variables were not correlated to each other, and further analyses with these were not examined. For all mean scores, standard deviations, and correlations, see **Table 1**.

Regression analyses

To test our hypotheses, four hierarchical multiple regressions were used to explore the relationships between social dominance orientation (SDO) and attitudes towards crime (ATC-Ind and ATC-Soc), attitudes towards prisoners (ATP), and prison reform attitudes (PRA). Preliminary analyses confirmed that assumptions of linearity, homoscedasticity, multicollinearity, and normality were not violated.

A first regression (**Table 2**) was conducted in which SDO was defined as the predictor variable while Attitudes Towards Individual Causes of Crime (ATC-Ind) was defined as the criterion variable; gender, political ideology, racism, and empathy (empathetic concern) were entered into the model as covariates, as they correlated with our dependent variable and are

theoretically related to SDO in the literature (Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius et al., 2013; Silvia et al., 2005). Additionally, while gender was not significantly correlated to SDO, gender has been related to SDO in prior studies (Kjelsberg et al., 2007; Mears, Hay, Gertz, & Mancini, 2007; Silvia, 2003), and thus we chose to control for it in this model as well.

We first checked whether our covariates predicted beliefs about individual causes of crime. The model without SDO was statistically significant [$F(4, 964) = 50.89, p < .001$] and explained 17.4% of the total variance in beliefs about individual causes of crime. Once SDO was entered into the model, the model remained statistically significant and explained an additional 2.9% of the total variance in attitudes towards individual causes of crime [$F(1, 963) = 49.02, p < .001$]; this change was statistically significant [$\Delta F(1, 963) = 34.46, p < .001$]. This finding supports our hypothesis that social dominance orientation predicts attitudes about individual causes of crime, even after controlling for other variables. Specifically, individuals with higher social dominance orientation levels were associated with also agreeing with individual causes of crime ($\beta = 0.25, p < .001$). An additional variable that was statistically significant in this model was racism ($\beta = 0.21, p < .001$). Higher levels of racism were associated with higher attitudes towards individual causes of crime. This regression model as a whole suggests that the more social dominance oriented (and racist) individuals are, the more these individuals may attribute causes of crime to hereditary or individual factors. No other variables included in the model were statistically significant.

A second regression (**Table 3**) was run to explore whether SDO predicted Attitudes Towards Social Causes of Crime (ATC-Soc). SDO was defined as the predictor variable, ATC-Soc was defined as the criterion variable, and age, political ideology, racism, and empathetic

concern were entered in as covariates. These covariates were chosen because they were all significantly correlated to our dependent variable, ATC-Soc. Theoretically, it is also possible individuals who are more empathetic, politically liberal, less racist, and younger may also attribute crime to environmental/social factors (Mears et al., 2013; Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius et al., 2013; Silvia et al., 2005). Gender was excluded as a covariate in this model as it was not significantly correlated to ATC-Soc.

We tested our covariates to see if they significantly predicted beliefs about social causes of crime. The model without SDO was statistically significant and predicted 15.1% of the total variance, $F(4, 964) = 42.73, p < .001$. When SDO was entered into the model, the model remained significant [$F(1, 963) = 34.15, p < .001$]. However, SDO did not explain any additional percentage of variance in ATC-Soc; this change in the model when SDO was entered was not statistically significant [$\Delta F(1, 963) = 0.02, ns$]. This finding therefore does not support our hypothesis that SDO predicts beliefs about social causes of crime.

Even though SDO did not add any predictive power to this regression, political ideology, racism, and age were significant predictors of attitudes towards social causes of crime. While these findings do not support our hypothesis, these results certainly suggest that the more liberal individuals are in terms of political ideology, the more support they may hold for environmental explanations of criminality. Also, the more racist individuals are, the less likely they may be to support social explanations of crime. Younger individuals may also be more supportive of social/environmental causes of crime, compared to their older counterparts.

We conducted a third regression (**Table 4**) to test whether attitudes towards prisoners (ATP) can be predicted by SDO. SDO was defined as the predictor variable, attitudes towards prisoners was defined as the criterion variable, and gender, political ideology, racism, and

empathetic concern were included as control variables. All these control variables were significantly correlated to our dependent variable of interest, attitudes towards prisoners. From a theoretical standpoint, it can also be that there is a difference between women and men's attitudes towards prisoners (Chen & Einat, 2015; Mears et al., 2007). Additionally, political ideology, racism and empathetic concern may also significantly influence attitudes towards prisoners (Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius et al., 2013; Silvia et al., 2005). For these reasons, we included these measures in as covariates. Age was not significantly related to attitudes towards prisoners, and was thus omitted.

First we checked if our covariates significantly predicted beliefs about attitudes towards prisoners. The model was statistically significant [$F(4, 886) = 109.05, p < .001$] and predicted 33% of the total variance in attitudes towards prisoners. When SDO was entered into the model, the model remained significant and accounted for an additional 1.8% of the total variance in attitudes towards prisoners [$F(1, 885) = 94.42, p < .001$]. This change was statistically significant [$\Delta F(1, 885) = 24.39, p < .001$].

This finding supports our hypothesis that social dominance orientation predicts attitudes about prisoners, even after controlling for other variables. Specifically, higher social dominance orientation levels were associated with more negative attitudes towards prisoners ($\beta = -0.20, p < .001$). Additional variables that were statistically significant in this model were racism and political ideology. Specifically, higher levels of racism were related to more negative beliefs about prisoners ($\beta = -0.28, p < .001$). Also worth noting is that more conservative political ideology was related to negative attitudes towards prisoners ($\beta = 0.14, p < .001$). Based on this regression model, it would appear that the more social dominance oriented, racist, and

conservative individuals are, the more these individuals may hold negative attitudes towards prisoners.

A final regression was run in order to test the hypothesis that social dominance orientation predicts prison reform attitudes (PRA). SDO was defined as the predictor variable and PRA was defined as the criterion variable; political ideology, racism, empathetic concern and gender were defined as covariates. These covariates were significantly correlated to prison reform attitudes, our dependent variable of interest. Theoretically, it may be that prison reform attitudes are also influenced by political ideology, racist beliefs, empathetic concern and gender (Mears et al, 2007; Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius et al., 2013; Silvia et al., 2005). Age was not included in the model as it was not significantly correlated to prison reform attitudes.

We began this regression by checking whether our covariates predicted prison reform attitudes. The model without SDO was statistically significant [$F(4, 948) = 182.62, p < .001$] and explained 43.5% of the total variance in PRA. Once SDO was entered into the model, the model remained significant and explained an additional 2.4% of the total variance in prison reform attitudes [$F(1, 947) = 160.92, p < .001$]; this change was statistically significant [$\Delta F(1, 947) = 42.31, p < .001$]. These results support our hypothesis that SDO predicts PRA, even after controlling for other variables. Specifically, higher social dominance orientation levels were associated with less progressive prison reform attitudes ($\beta = -0.23, p < .001$). Interestingly, higher levels of racism also reliably predicted less progressive prison reform attitudes ($\beta = -0.32, p < .001$), as did conservative political ideology ($\beta = 0.21, p < .001$). This model ultimately suggests that individuals who are more social dominance oriented and racist, as well as hold conservative political beliefs, may be more likely to believe in less progressive prison reform policies. Alternatively, individuals who are less social dominance oriented and racist, and hold

liberal political beliefs, may be more likely to hold progressive prison reform attitudes. These results are summarized in **Table 5**.

Mediation analyses

In order to better understand how racism relates to the relationships between SDO and ATP and SDO and PRA, two additional mediation analyses were run (**Table 6**). Covariates were similar to those in our regression models mentioned earlier, and included gender, age, political ideology and empathetic concern. It was hypothesized that Racism would mediate the relationship between SDO and ATP, as well as the relationship between SDO and PRA. Racism may be a mediator variable from both theoretical and statistical standpoints. Racism is positively related to social dominance orientation (Pratto et al., 1994); as social dominance orientation levels increase, so do racist beliefs. While it was not necessarily a better predictor of all the attitudes explored in this study, racism was still a good predictor of many of them. Theoretically, it is possible that racism may, at least in part, explain the relationship between SDO and ATP and SDO and PRA. Statistically, racism also meets the requirements to act as a mediator variable. The predictor variable (ie. SDO), criterion variables (ie. ATP, PRA), and proposed mediator (ie. racism) were all significantly correlated. Higher social dominance orientation was related to less positive attitudes towards prisoners and less progressive prison reform attitudes. Higher social dominance orientation was also related to more racist beliefs in individuals. Finally, higher levels of racism were related to negative attitudes towards prisoners and less progressive prison reform attitudes.

PROCESS by Andrew Hayes (2013) was utilized to perform the mediations using bootstrapping analyses. Number of bootstrap samples were set to 1,000 and confidence intervals

were calculated at a 95% level. Some cases were excluded from the analysis due to missing data, leaving remaining samples of $n_{atp} = 853$ and $n_{pra} = 911$. Results from this mediation model indicated that the relationship between SDO and ATP was partially mediated by racism. As **Figure 1** indicates, the standardized regression coefficients between SDO and racism (pathway *a*), racism and ATP (pathway *b*), and SDO and ATP without racism (pathway *c*) were all statistically significant ($p < .001$). When racism was added, the relationship between SDO and ATP remained significant (pathway *c'*). The 95% confidence interval did not include zero. Thus, it may be that individuals with more negative attitudes towards prisoners may see the world in more racist terms, in part, because they are also more social dominance oriented. However, SDO also significantly predicts ATP without Racism, and therefore social dominance orientation also has a direct effect on ATP.

Similarly, it was hypothesized that Racism would mediate the relationship between SDO and PRA. Again, racism was defined as the mediator variable, and gender, age, political ideology, and empathetic concern were used as covariates. As **Figure 2** illustrates, pathways *a*, *b*, and *c* were all statistically significant ($p < .001$). When racism was included in the model, pathway *c'* remained significant, indicating a partial mediation. A confidence interval calculated at the 95% level did not include zero. These mediation results suggest that individuals with less progressive prison reform attitudes may hold more racist beliefs partially because they are also more social dominance oriented. However, like our first mediation model, the mediation was only partial, resulting in SDO also having a direct effect on PRA; therefore, individuals might be more social dominance oriented and hold less progressive prison reform attitudes without the influence of racist beliefs.

As a whole, SDO appears to be a decent significant predictor of the majority of attitudes explored in this study, even when other variables were included into our regression or mediation models. Additionally, racism also appears to reliably partially mediate the relationships between SDO and ATP, as well as SDO and PRA.

Discussion

Our analyses demonstrate that SDO was a significant predictor for three out of our four criterion variables of interest. With the exception of beliefs about social causes of crime, SDO was a decent and reliable predictor of individual causes of crime, attitudes towards prisoners, and attitudes towards prison reform. Considering the array of variables in the real world which may account for such attitudes, finding that SDO predicted and accounted for as much variance in the criterion variables as it did (even when controlling for other possibilities) is certainly an interesting research finding.

SDO was a good predictor for beliefs about individual causes of crime. Those who were higher on the social dominance scale, meaning they are more likely to seek roles in society that enhance hierarchies, were also more likely to attribute causes of crime to individual and hereditary factors, such as faulty biochemistry or genes, rather than environmental factors. Prior literature supports this concept as well; individuals who are more social dominance oriented tend to hold more negative views towards individuals whom they deem inferior (Pratto et al., 1994). This can be explained by defining what it means to be higher on a social dominance scale. Those who are higher on the social dominance spectrum may not think everyone should be equal, and thus may not support an egalitarian society. Social dominance oriented individuals also seek to enhance their own position within their own hierarchy; thus it is possible they believe they can maintain their own power through the systemic oppression of others, in this case those who are

part of the prison population. Prisoners today are often discriminated against solely because of their status. The drive to shun such “faulty” individuals, as seen in this study, can and may also be driven by feelings that social hierarchies need to be amplified.

Additionally, SDO was a good predictor of attitudes towards prisoners. Previous studies found that those who work in law enforcement generally view prisoners more negatively (Kjelsberg et al., 2007; Melvin et al., 1985; Ortet-Fabregat & Perez, 1992). Some individuals even go so far as to further reject prisoners when similarities between them are enhanced (Silvia et al., 2005). Thus, it may be that those who are higher on the social dominance spectrum may, in fact, seek roles in society which do not advocate for complete equality in a society where prisoners exist. Doing so would extinguish all the existing hierarchies that have effectively given individuals their power. In order to promote the existing hierarchies, it may ultimately be important for individuals to hold negative views towards the oppressed individuals, in this case, prisoners. Doing so may influence others to view these views as well, widening the amount of people who hold negative views towards them.

Finally, SDO was a good predictor for prison reform attitudes. Our results suggest that individuals who were more social dominance oriented also held less progressive prison reform attitudes. This finding builds on previous empirical literature (Pratto et al., 1994; Reynolds et al., 2001; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Reasons for this finding may be that those who are higher on the social dominance spectrum may especially support policies that keep people in a perpetual post within a low social hierarchy. Prison reform is a progressive endeavor, and one that would place a larger emphasis on rehabilitating rather than punishing. Rehabilitation would give prisoners a second chance to succeed in society, but if prison reform does not progress and the prison system remains as it is, it is the perfect recipe to keep prisoners in a subclass.

In other words, less progressive prison reform attitudes translate into support for more punitive and harsh prison policies, as opposed to rehabilitative prison policy that decreases recidivism rates. Prison policy directly affects how prisoners are treated, and whether or not prisoners are ultimately rehabilitated or recidivate back to prison. By advocating for more punitive prison reform policies, individuals with higher SDO are essentially supporting the punitive system that keeps prisoners in a perpetual cycle of being incarcerated, which maintains the overall social hierarchy. It may even be that those higher on social dominance orientation may believe they gain their own power through this systemic oppression of prisoners.

While SDO was not a good predictor for beliefs about social causes of crime, age, political ideology, and racism were. These covariates significantly predicted attitudes towards social causes of crime better than SDO did. While preliminary analyses yielded a significant negative correlation between SDO and ATC-Soc, the effect size itself was small; it is possible that the covariates in this regression, rather, explained the initial correlation between SDO and ATC-Soc.

Interestingly, Racism was also a good predictor of all the attitudes explored in this study. In some cases, racism was actually a better predictor than SDO. Reasons for these findings are not clear, but several explanations are possible. First, individuals who are more social dominance oriented also tend to hold more racist ideology. In terms of the prison industrial complex, one in three African American men will go to prison in their lifetime, and Latinos are nearing that statistic every day (Haney, 2006). Asian American and Pacific Islander individuals are also a growing population of individuals in prison (National Education Association, 2015). Meanwhile, Caucasian Americans are underrepresented in the prison population. Thus, it is logical that racism is interrelated with all of our variables of interest.

Historically, the war on drugs has and continues to target low-income minority groups and people of color, and many continue to be incarcerated as a result of the drug war. Michelle Alexander (2010), author of *The New Jim Crow*, argues that the current prison system is and has been serving as the new racial caste system. People of color sent to prison often times, if paroled, leave prison with little resources to successfully acclimate to the new environments in which they are placed. Many cannot find jobs, housing, or even vote. If adaptation to the real world is not successful, many go back to prison and recidivism rates are high. Thus, individuals are kept in perpetual entrapment; this ultimately enhances and suppresses these groups, keeping them as inferior members of a hierarchy. In this way, SDO and racism are very much related.

To better understand our findings pertaining to racism, mediation analyses were run to determine how racism might mediate the relationship between SDO and attitudes towards prisoners and prison reform. Our results indicated that racism partially mediated the relationship between SDO and attitudes towards prisoners; it seems that SDO predicted attitudes towards prisoners as a function of higher racist attitudes. However, because racism only partially mediated this relationship, SDO also predicted attitudes towards prisoners on its own. Similarly, racism partially mediated the relationship between SDO and prison reform attitudes. It is possible racist beliefs explain the relationship between SDO and prison reform attitudes. Yet, because this mediation was partial in nature, SDO also predicted prison reform attitudes on its own.

Several limitations of the present study must be acknowledged. First, generalizability of the study might be limited due to the fact our sample was mostly White (nearly 80%). Because of the nature of the sample, the results may not be generalizable to minority groups. Individuals also self-selected themselves to participate in the study, which is a second limitation. It is

possible certain individuals are more likely to self-select themselves to participate in a study such as this one, which may result in a sample bias. Future studies should aim to correct these limitations when conducting similar studies of this nature.

Future research should also further explore whether individuals who are high on social dominance orientation are consciously aware of their social dominance, and whether there are additional underlying attitudinal orientations which shape their attitudes towards crime, prisoners and prison reform, other than the measures explored in this study. Such research is important because of the impact attitudes ultimately have on prison policy. It may elucidate how policy is shaped by different attitudes, and why some policies pertaining to prison and criminality exist to begin with. It should come as no surprise that the drug war contributed to much of our current prison population; much of it was pioneered not only by racism, but also by a drive to punish individuals deemed as inherently bad. This has served to keep those individuals at the bottom of a social hierarchy because they are deemed inferior.

This structural hierarchy is also becoming present at an earlier age across the nation. The “school-to-prison pipeline” may be in part responsible for this. Public schools that do not have adequate resources, combined with high rates of disciplinary programs and zero-tolerance policies, contribute to this system where policies themselves drive already at-risk students out of schools and into the criminal justice system (ACLU, 2008). The majority of these at-risk students are also racial minorities and people of color. This system is overly punitive, deeming students as undeserving of time and education and instead sentencing them to a life in the criminal justice system. This pipeline effectively paves the way for a new group at the bottom of a social hierarchy. In other words, policies like the school-to-prison pipeline are hierarchy-enhancing, and cater to those individuals who also hold higher social dominance beliefs. While research has

not explicitly looked at how social dominance orientation may affect individuals' motivation to continue phenomena like the "school-to-prison pipeline," future research should look at this relationship.

Determining how stable SDO is in individuals would also be a significant contribution to the literature on SDO. Research has not yet explored whether SDO is a malleable aspect of people's personalities. SDO's rigidity, or lack thereof, in the personalities of those in the general public may subsequently impact how receptive the general public may be to prison reform policy. Assuming SDO is a rigid personality variable, it may be important to advocate for progressive prison reform by emphasizing global societal benefits, rather than focusing on the violation of prisoners' human rights. However, if SDO is not fixed, it may be beneficial to allow the public to become more aware of their tendencies, in part by making SDO research more accessible to the general public. Future research should also explore the changeability of SDO.

In the case that SDO is adjustable, education about the prison system may also be beneficial for ultimate social progress. It may be that highly social dominance oriented individuals may not have enough information with which to make judgments about the prison industrial complex and the criminal justice system as a whole. It is also possible that individuals may solely attribute these causes to purely individual or hereditary factors. However, people's social histories certainly can influence whether they turn to a life of crime; these social histories may be comprised of a variety of social and environmental crime causation factors like impoverished neighborhoods, poor family life, and meager schooling (Haney, 2006). Perhaps it would be beneficial for those who fall along the higher end of the social dominance spectrum to learn about the ways in which their attitudes towards crime may not be entirely accurate.

Similarly, it may be important for those who are more social dominance oriented to know that their negative beliefs towards prisoners are ultimately negative for society at large. Many prisoners are paroled back for at least some time; how inmates perceive they will be treated by the general public upon their return plays a role in whether they successfully acclimate or recidivate (Moore et al., 2013). Humanizing prisoners may, in turn, help those who are highly social dominance oriented see prisoners in a positive light. If prisoners are humanized, it may also influence individuals who score highly on the SDO scale to reframe their conservative beliefs towards prison reform. Education about the detrimental, and often times unfavorable, conditions prison poses may also allow a push for more progressive policies which serve to rehabilitate rather than punish. Similarly, it is possible that educating individuals about the benefits of societies that are more egalitarian and less hierarchical may allow and encourage highly social dominance oriented individuals to change their beliefs.

As alluded to earlier, it may ultimately be that many of those who are more social dominance oriented believe they will retain their power through the oppression of other individuals. Believing that causes of crime are inherently dispositional consequently labels individuals who commit crime as inherently evil or unworthy of reform because they are “born that way.” This belief may then serve to dehumanize the individuals, especially once they are convicted of a crime and sentenced to prison with the label of “prisoner.” Unjust prison policies serve to further oppress prisoners by maintaining punitive conditions in prisons, rather than allowing prisons to become more rehabilitative. Additionally, due to a lack of programs aimed at preparing prisoners for a world outside, many do end up recidivating (Haney, 2006), effectively keeping them at the bottom of a social totem pole. High social dominance oriented individuals may believe this is how to retain their own position of power within their own hierarchy.

Specific research looking at how social dominance orientation influences attitudes towards crime, prisoners and prison reform had not previously been done before. It was the aim of this study to commence in filling that gap in the literature. While some social progress related to incarceration has been made, our prison population remains among the highest in the world, and prison conditions are still psychologically deleterious for prisoners (Haney, 2006).

Individuals in the general public may naturally seek power over others, and in the case of social dominance orientation, it may be that the drive to do so plays a role in where they lie on the social dominance scale. While it is not clear whether individuals are able to change their social dominance orientation, it may be beneficial to inform individuals about their tendencies to seek power through the enhancement of hierarchies and oppression of others. In this way, perhaps individuals, and eventually society at large, may slowly move towards becoming a society comprised of individuals who seek less power over others.

Table 1 *Descriptive Statistics and Correlations*

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Social Dominance Orientation	2.36	1.2	—	-0.22**	0.42**	-0.51**	-0.57**	-0.20**	-0.47**	0.64**	-0.07*	-0.50*
2. Attitudes Towards Crime (Social Causes)	2.52	0.57	—	—	0.06	0.25**	0.36**	-0.01	0.33**	-0.30**	-0.16**	0.09**
3. Attitudes Towards Crime (Individual Causes)	1.59	0.54	—	—	—	-0.46**	-0.39**	-0.10**	-0.23**	0.39**	-0.03	-0.26**
4. Attitudes Towards Prisoners	87.5	22.53	—	—	—	—	0.77**	0.08*	0.40**	-0.52**	-0.04	-0.34**
5. Prison Reform Attitudes	4.85	1.2	—	—	—	—	—	0.06	0.49**	-0.59**	-0.04	0.35**
6. Gender	0.58	0.49	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.07*	-0.16**	0.04	0.31**
7. Political Ideology	4.47	4.47	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	-0.50**	-0.07**	0.19**
8. Racism	2.16	0.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.04	-0.32**
9. Age	36.08	13.08	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.14**
10. Empathy	2.84	0.83	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Attitudes Towards Crime (Individual Causes)

	<u>Model 1</u>			<u>Model 2</u>		
<u>Variable</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>β</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>β</u>
Gender	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.01
Political Ideology	-0.01	0.01	-0.04	0.01	0.01	0.01
Racism	0.20	0.02	0.32**	0.13	0.02	0.21**
Empathy	-0.10	0.02	-0.15**	-0.04	0.02	-0.07
Social Dominance Orientation	—	—	—	0.11	0.02	0.25**
 <u>Model Summary</u>						
R^2	0.18			0.20		
F	50.89			49.02		
df1	4			1		
ΔR^2	0.17			0.03		
ΔF	50.89**			34.46***		
df2	964			963		

**p<.001

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Attitudes Towards Crime (Social Causes)

	<u>Model 1</u>			<u>Model 2</u>		
<u>Variable</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>β</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>β</u>
Age	-0.01	0.01	-0.14**	-0.01	0.01	-0.14**
Political Ideology	0.08	0.01	0.22**	0.08	0.01	0.22**
Racism	-0.11	0.02	-0.18**	-0.11	0.03	-0.18**
Empathy	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01
Social Dominance Orientation	—	—	—	-0.01	0.02	-0.01
<u>Model Summary</u>						
R^2	0.15			0.15		
F	42.73			34.15		
df1	4			1		
ΔR^2	0.15			0.00		
ΔF	42.73**			0.02		
df2	964			963		

**p<.001

Table 4

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Attitudes Towards Prisoners

	<u>Model 1</u>			<u>Model 2</u>		
<u>Variable</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>β</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>β</u>
Gender	-2.65	1.33	-0.06*	-2.81	1.31	-0.06*
Political Ideology	2.46	0.44	0.18**	1.97	0.44	0.14**
Racism	-9.28	0.83	-0.37**	-7.10	0.93	-0.28**
Empathy	5.61	0.82	0.21**	3.88	0.88	0.14**
Social Dominance Orientation	—	—	—	-3.71	0.75	-0.20**
<u>Model Summary</u>						
R^2	0.33			0.35		
F	109.05			94.42		
$df1$	4			1		
ΔR^2	0.33			0.02		
ΔF	109.05**			24.39**		
$df2$	886			885		
<hr/>						
*p <.05	**p<.001					

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Prison Reform Attitudes

	Model 1			Model 2		
Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>β</i>
Gender	-0.22	0.06	-0.09*	-0.23	0.06	-0.09**
Political Ideology	0.19	0.02	0.25**	0.16	0.02	0.21**
Racism	-0.56	0.40	-0.42**	-0.22	0.06	-0.32**
Empathy	0.28	0.40	0.20**	0.18	0.04	0.12**
Social Dominance Orientation	—	—	—	-0.23	0.04	-0.23**
Model Summary						
<i>R</i> ²	0.44			0.46		
<i>F</i>	182.62			160.92		
<i>df</i> 1	4			1		
ΔR^2	0.44			0.02		
ΔF	182.62**			42.31**		
<i>df</i> 2	948			947		

*p <.05 **p<.001

Table 6

Direct and Indirect Effects of SDO on the Outcome Variables, Through Racism

Unstandardized estimates	Attitudes Towards Prisoners	Prison Reform Attitudes
Total effect of SDO (SE)	-6.23 (.70)**	-0.38 (.03)**
Direct effect of SDO (SE)	-3.52 (.77)**	-0.21 (.04)**
Direct effect of racism (SE)	-7.15 (.96)**	-0.44 (.04)**
Indirect effect of SDO (SE)	-2.71 (.52) ^a	-0.17 (.02) ^a
95% CI	[-3.8841, -1.8232]	[-.2248, -.1276]
Total R ²	0.31	0.41

Note. An indirect effect is statistically significant if its confidence interval does not include zero.

All effects shown control for gender, age, political ideology, and empathy.

CI = confidence interval.

^aAsymmetric percentile 95% CIs for all indirect effects were estimated using 1,000 bootstrap samples.

** p < .001

Figure 1
Mediating Effects of Racism between Social Dominance Orientation and Attitudes Towards Prisoners

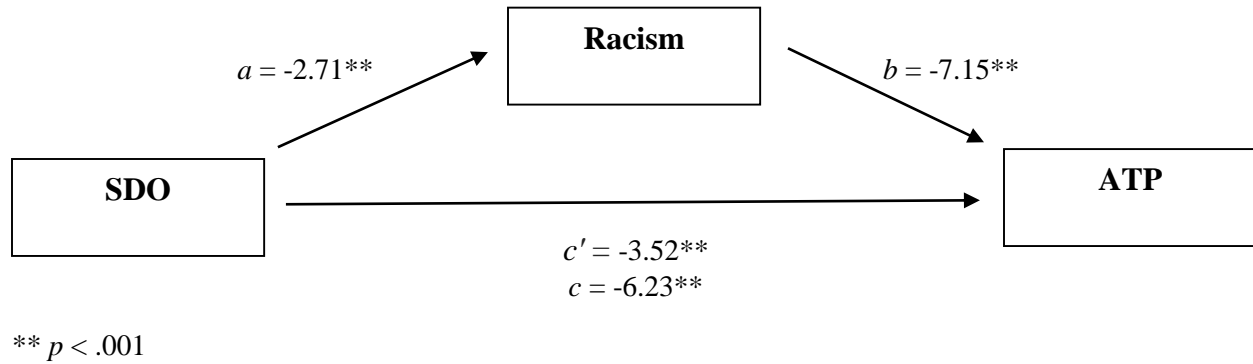
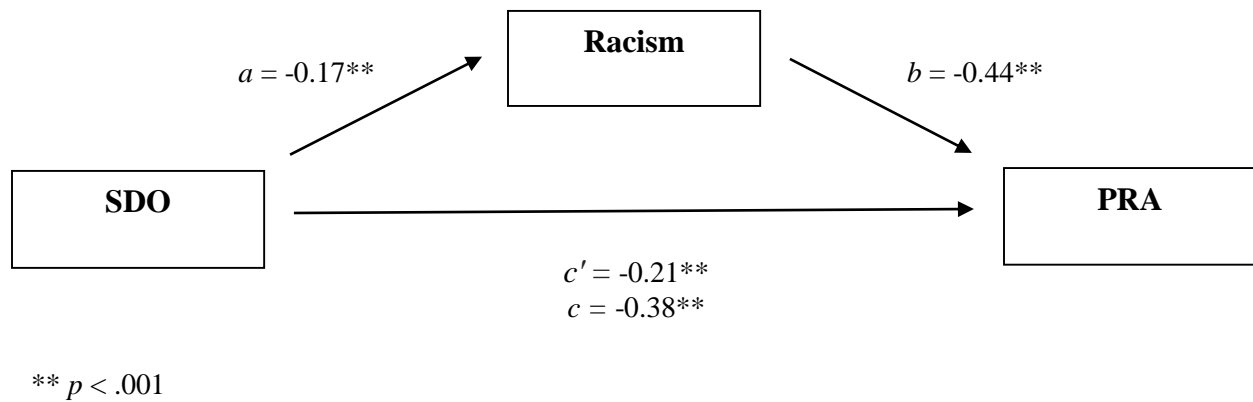


Figure 2
Mediating Effects of Racism between Social Dominance Orientation and Prison Reform Attitudes



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